1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Some villagers also pointed to the reluctance of young women to marry first sons. There were two reasons for this: the financial responsibilities of the first son, and the joint living with his parents. These young women had the attitude that the second or the third son enjoyed greater freedom. The position of the first son is more secure in an agricultural community, especially if the father has some means. The reluctance of some young women to marry first sons may be offset by marrying into a well established family and by the prestige that comes with such a marriage. One also encounters an attitude of indifference regarding one's position in the family hierarchy: no pride in being the first son and no feeling of resentment at being a second or succeeding one.

Among parents and grandparents, there is strong pride in a son. The birth of a son in early marriage and his survival simplifies the life of every individual in the family. It points to the desired succession, to care in old age and a normal family experience within the framework of the family system.

6

Adoption

As in other Oriental countries, the emphasis placed on the first son, or one standing in his place, reflects the concern of the family for its continued existence. Extinction (dansetsu in Japanese) of the family must be avoided. Adoption is the traditional method of preventing extinction. While there are instances of adoption in all villages, it is not common, nor does it have the importance which is attached to it in Japan.

The need for adoption arises when a family does not have a male child to succeed to the father's house. Two types of adoption are recognized: the adoption of a male child or the adoption of the prospective husband of a daughter. No instance of the latter form was encountered in any of the villages. Unlike Japan, where an adopted child might be unrelated to the family, Okinawans, when they resort to adoption, always choose a relative in the male line, perhaps a nephew or a distant relative of the male head. The preferred alternatives are two: a first or second son of the brother of the head of the adopting house is taken, or a second son may be adopted by his uncle and will succeed to the main family line on the death of his uncle.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Marriage Customs

581 [171]

There are two ways of entering into marriage. One of these, the traditional form, found in China, Korea, and Japan, is the arranged marriage (mi-ai in Japanese). The selection of the partner, the betrothal, and the marriage are conducted by the families as principals, although the young people may be consulted. The second is free choice in marriage (ren-ai), in which young people decide for themselves. Ren-ai is often translated as "romantic love," but a more accurate, if more sedate meaning is free, but not unrestricted, choice in marriage.

581 584 [178]

The arranged marriage and the use of a go-between in the negotiations exist in the villages studied. But the arranged marriage began to decline before the war, more rapidly since its end. A go-between (nakōdo), either a man or a woman, or sometimes both, act as intermediaries in negotiations between families until a mutually satisfactory decision is reached, or, lacking this, until negotiations can be broken off without embarrassment to either side.

581 [593]

The arranged marriage still prevails in families where parental authority is strong and the obedience of the children is demanded and received. Personal observation and the statements both of the young and old leave little doubt, however, that free choice in marriage is now the accepted custom. A go-between is often used in courtship and is still an honored participant in the wedding ceremony. Latterly, the go-between is less a matchmaker, more a repository of confidences for mutual exchange. The present status of the go-between can be summarized in these illustrations from Hanashiro: (1) if the couple live in the same village, a go-between is not used, but one is sought out if the young man wishes to court a girl in another village. (2) The go-between is not used at all. (3) The go-between may be a relative or a friend of either party used to sound out another's feelings. In Hinatogawa, it is said that the go-between acts for a bashful suitor, but that the couple make their own marriage arrangements. In Matsuda, he is occasionally used in courtship, but his function is mostly the formal one of officiating at the marriage ceremony. With the acceptance of free choice in marriage, the go-between as an adult, skilled, respected, and understanding negotiator has been replaced by an individual with more nominal responsibilities, who may be a mutual friend, probably a contemporary of the young people whose marriage he is encouraging. 584

The arranged and free choice marriages are not at opposite extremes. Free choice does not mean there has been a rebellion against parental authority. Parents' consent to a marriage is still sought for, even though the betrothal is decided upon by the young principals. If the parents do not consent, the alternative is elopement. If the parents withhold consent, the traditional wedding ceremony cannot take

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from ¥50 to ¥100 up to ¥1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the
727 gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
435 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keizai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been [586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are [562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with [177] ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion between couples is not seen in public. Men and women are teased by the community if they are seen standing and talking together. One or several boys teasing a girl would be the boldest advance seen in public. Although, even at night, we never observed couples pairing off in or near the village, we were told that a boy and a girl would arrange private meetings. It is our impression that there is more self-consciousness about love-making than there used to be.

Although there is little occasion for intimacy between a couple during times when other villagers are around, young men and women associate frequently in larger groups during the week in community-wide activities of the Young People's Association. During the many hours which are spent in club meetings, work projects, and other social activities, there is a comraderie between young men and women which effectively neutralizes the formal social distance that is maintained in the traditionally separate seating arrangements. There is, nevertheless, a certain embarrassment and almost clumsy behavior of young men toward the better poised and adroit girls, at least in the presence of strangers like ourselves.

Young men may seek intimacies with girls of other villages, but in doing so they risk the ire of the young men there. It is also possible that a Taira girl agrees to an intimate relationship with someone in another village where she may feel safer from detection. Young men are more likely to seek a girl with whom an arrangement for a meeting away from her home can be made. The girl, of course, suffers public disapproval if the couple is detected, while a man is not subject to the same criticism. In contrast to girls, men have many more opportunities for sexual relationships without public censure.

Sexual attraction does not seem decisive in selecting a mate for marriage, although beauty is appreciated in a woman with long, black hair, a dark arched eyebrow, fair skin, a prominent nose, small mouth, and large eyes. Younger people are beginning to adopt some of the American standards of beauty, which are introduced through movies and magazines via Japan. Although the concept of romantic love is gaining in popularity, arranged marriages still outnumber love marriages in Taira. Even if a young man and woman reach an agreement about marriage, there follows a formal arrangement by their parents with the help of go-betweens, a trusted neighbor or a friendly couple, or a person who commands status and respect. If a man or his family are interested in arranging a marriage with a girl, the go-between notifies her family. Eventually word will reach the girl. If the suitor has not previously indicated his interest to the girl, she may voice her feelings and wishes to her mother, father, or to some other relative. If

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife, in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
[262] produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
[273] snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth,
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health.

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child.

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us."

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,'" he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully.

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the

593 are less important than older sons. The security of the individual depends
602 upon his closeness to this axis. Yet most can attain security. Younger sons grow up to establish families of their own. Daughters grow up to marry and become the means whereby other men establish families. If a man has no son he readily adopts one from among his brothers' or cousins' sons and so the continuity is maintained.

593 This structure is in sharp contrast to that of present-day American
171 society. In American society the individual, not the family, is felt to be the basic unit. The basic axis is horizontal, the husband-wife axis. The values are on affection between the married couple, responsibility toward minor children, and impartiality toward them. The responsibility of parents ends when the children grow up. There is little continuity. The individual can expect equal treatment but cannot expect lasting security within the family. He finds his family ties cut once when he grows up, once again when his children grow up. The only permanent tie is with husband or wife and hence the only permanent security within the family is through marital bond. Hence in American society there is an increasing emphasis on romantic love and an increasing tendency to look for security through it.

The relationship of husband and wife in Okinawan society is quite dif-
593 ferent from that in American society with its comradeship and equality. In
• 581 Okinawan society the traditional marriage is arranged by the family. Its pri-
[584] mary function is to provide for the continuity of the family units and if possible to produce more units like it. The satisfaction of individual needs is only a secondary function. At marriage a woman enters the family of her husband, where she hopes to produce an heir for him and more besides. Her position is subordinate; she must be submissive to him and to his parents. She expects to work hard. Her husband also expects to work hard, for he is obligated to provide his descendants and his ancestors with their needs, but if he also has the means to seek pleasure outside the home he is not only free to do so, but is expected to do so.

593 As one might expect, the relationship between parents and children is
855 very close. Okinawan parents live more intimately with their children than
[171] do American parents; they carry them around, sleep with them, and fondle them a great deal. And from the American point of view they spoil them. At the same time they seem to regard children as not quite human, and treat them at times with what to an American seems like heartless cruelty. Also they differentiate clearly on the basis of future importance to the family and the maintenance of its continuity; the first son, who will inherit his father's status, is given more consideration than younger sons; daughters, who will eventually leave the family entirely, are given less consideration---and more chores, to prepare them for future status as daughters-in-law---than are sons. Children are expected to respect their parents and to care for them when they are old. Parents are expected to love their children and care for them when
[171] they are young. The responsibility of a parent toward a minor child is not as great as in the United States; for example, in an emergency a parent may sell a child (this may be in conflict with the present law but it is not in
593 conflict with the mores of impoverished Okinawan farmers). Buth this responsibility does not end with the child's attaining majority. In the case

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands sometimes divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese word 'shojo', "virgin". [171]

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a jurimuyaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida, until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year; the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those who make youths into men".[1]

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are conducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible. [584]

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always arranged by the family for the good of the family. The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were consulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable, but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly opposed by one or more of the parents. [581]

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual attraction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

[Kochinda-son]

Table IX, cont'd.

163
178

	Prewar	Postwar
Average Time in Months Between First and Second Births	38.8	27.3
Average Time in Months Between Second and Third Births	35.7	27.7
Total Average Months Between All Births	35.7	27.6

It is seen that the postwar Okinawan mother apparently has her first child more than half a year earlier than did the prewar mother. Furthermore, the average spacing between births appears to be about eight to eleven months less in the postwar period. Explanations for this apparent difference---which might prove to be less if a larger sample were available---include delays caused by prewar military service, and the possibility that stillbirths were more frequent and infant mortality higher in the prewar period.

The invasion and the subsequent period of internment and resettlement caused a temporary lengthening in the spacing of births. Data for the 98 households in the same villages used above, wherein were found complete prewar-postwar continuous birth records, indicated an average of 55 months between the birth of the last baby before the invasion, and the first one born thereafter. In addition, it should be noted that the average age of postwar fathers at first birth above is 27.1 years, but the average age of fathers whose date of postwar marriage is recorded at first birth below is 25.0 years. This situation means only that in many cases the mothers of postwar families were second wives. In most of these instances the first wife had died during the war.

Postwar Marriage: Attitudes Dr. John F. Embree, in his monumental work Suye Mura, thus describes the rural Japanese attitude toward marriage: "The birth of a child is a much more certain sign of a permanent marriage than is a wedding ceremony. Indeed, a marriage is often not put in the village office records until after a child is on its way."[1] The Okinawan attitude is much the same. 581 171

In analyzing the 177 postwar recorded marriages that resulted in children, 29 marriages, or only 16% of the total, were found to have been recorded in the 'koseki' more than nine months before the birth of the first child. Marriages were recorded after the birth of the first child in 71 cases, representing 40% of the total. 582

Marriages Recorded Before Conception In the first category, the husband was younger in six of the 29 cases. In no case had the husband had

[1] John F. Embree, Suye Mura: A Japanese Village, U. of Chicago Press, 1939, p. 182.